

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09

H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

SS-15 USIA-12 NIC-01 IO-12 ACDA-19 NEA-10 GAC-01

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 OMB-01 EB-11 RSR-01 SIL-01

LAB-06 COME-00 /159 W
----- 107382

P R 041757 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, GW, GE

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT REPORT ON STATE OF INNER- GERMAN
RELATIONS

SUMMARY: AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SPEECH ON THE " STATE
OF THE NATION" DELIVERED IN RECENT YEARS BY CHANCELLOR
BRANDT, THE GOVERNMENT HAS THIS YEAR PRESENTED THE
BUNDESTAG WITH A WRITTEN REPORT WHICH PRESENTS IN
GREAT DETAIL " THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC
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REPUBLIC". THE REPORT IS DIVIDED INTO FOUR MAIN SECTIONS: (A) DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GERMAN QUESTION SINCE 1945; (B) THE POLICIES FOLLOWED BY THE BRANDT/ SCHEEL GOVERNMENT SINCE 1969; (C) PROGRESS IN DEVELOPMENT OF INNER- GERMAN RELATIONS SINCE 1969; AND (D) A CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS ON THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, BEGINNING WITH THE GOVERNMENT DECLARATION IN 1969. GOAL OF THE DOCUMENT IS TO DEMONSTRATE THROUGH AN EXHAUSTIVE CATALOGUE OF FACTS AND FIGURES THE GREAT EXTENT TO WHICH, AS NOTED IN THE FORWARD BY MINISTER FOR INNER- GERMAN AFFAIRS FRANKE, THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR WAS SET IN MOTION AND HAS PROGRESSED SINCE 1969. REACTION TO THE REPORT BY OPPOSITION DEPUTIES HAS BEEN EXPECTEDLY NEGATIVE, WHILE EDITORIAL COMMENT HAS BEEN SKEPTICAL. END SUMMARY

1. AFTER CONCENTRATING IN THE FIRST TWO SECTIONS ON THE POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND WHICH LED UP TO THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS, THE REPORT IS LIMITED TO PRESENTING FACTS AND FIGURES TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE SPD/ FDP CONCEPT OF EASTERN POLICY HAS INDEED FINALLY STOPPED THE DRIFTING APART OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES. MINISTER FRANKE ADMITS IN THE FORWARD THAT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONTINUE TO EXIST BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR. HE ARGUES, HOWEVER, THAT THE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS REACHED WITH THE GDR PROVIDE THE " BASIS FOR A NEW BEGINNING, BOTH QUANTITATIVELY AND QUALITATIVELY." FRANKE ALSO STATES THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS MAKING NO CLAIM OF HAVING PRESENTED A COMPLETE PROGRAM FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES, AND ADMITS THAT " PRACTICAL REALIZATION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS AND CONCLUSION OF AGREEMENTS WILL STILL REQUIRE MANY YEARS." HE ARGUES, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE THE PATH TO NORMALIZATION IS NOT SHORT, THE PROCESS HAS AT LEAST NOW BEGUN.

2. WHAT FOLLOWS IS AN EXHAUSTIVE CATALOGUE OF FACTS AND FIGURES, ALL DESIGNED TO EMPHASIZE THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS. THE REPORT NOTES, FOR EXAMPLE THAT WHERE IN 1970 ONLY 34 NON- AUTOMATIC TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS EXISTED BETWEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE FRG AND GDR, AND NONE AT ALL EXISTED BETWEEN THE

TWO PARTS OF BERLIN, BY THE MIDDLE OF 1972 THERE WERE 383 CONNECTIONS, INCLUDING 201 BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF BERLIN. THE REPORT STATES THAT BY THE END OF 1974, ALL TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR AND THE TWO PARTS OF BERLIN WILL BE FULLY AUTOMATIC. IN 1972 THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY 14,000 TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THIS REPRESENTED A TENFOLD INCREASE OVER 1970.

3. GREAT EMPHASIS IS PLACED ON DEMONSTRATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRAVEL BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR. IT STATE
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TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 OMB-01 EB-11 RSR-01 SIL-01

LAB-06 COME-00 /159 W
----- 106813

P R 041757 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AUTHORIZED UNDER PROVISIONS OF THE GTT. TO THIS FIGURE MUST BE ADDED THE CONTINUING FLOW OF PENSIONERS FROM THE GDR. THIS FIGURE HAS REMAINED STABLE AT ABOUT 1,000,000 A YEAR.

4. THE REPORT DOCUMENTS A LARGER INCREASE IN TRAVEL OF RESIDENTS OF THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN IN THE GDR. THE WEST GERMAN FIGURE FOR 1969 WAS 1.1 MILLION PERSONS; BY 1972, THIS HAD RISEN TO A TOTAL OF 1.54 MILLION. IN 1969 ONLY 90,000 WEST BERLINERS WERE ALLOWED TO VISIT FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN EAST BERLIN AND THE GDR. IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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1972, THE NUMBER WAS 3.5 MILLION.

5. THERE ARE SOME AREAS WHERE THE REPORT IS FORCED TO BE LESS OPTIMISTIC. ALTHOUGH MENTION IS MADE OF INCREASED POSSIBILITIES FOR REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES, NO FIGURES ARE PROVIDED. THE REPORT STATES ONLY THAT SPECIAL EFFORTS WERE MADE IN THIS AREA IN THE PAST YEAR. IT ALSO NOTES THAT AS A RESULT OF A GDR AMNESTY IN 1972, MORE THAN 2,000 PERSONS WERE RELEASED FROM PRISON AND ALLOWED TO MOVE TO THE FRG OR WEST BERLIN. CONCERNING THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR WESTERN JOURNALISTS IN THE GDR, THE REPORT STATES THAT " IT IS CLEAR THAT THE RIGHT OF TREATMENT (FOR FRG JOURNALISTS) EQUAL TO THAT GIVEN TO CORRESPONDENTS OF OTHER STATES WHICH IS CONTAINED IN THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS (ACCOMPANYING THE BASIC TREATY) MUST BE BASED ON THE LAWS AND THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE RESPECTIVE STATE. THIS MEANS THAT WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS IN THE GDR CANNOT BE COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THEIR COLLEAGUES IN THE FRG, SINCE THE GDR VIEW CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN THE FIELDS OF INFORMATION POLICY AND EDUCATION LEADS TO A DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT."

6. OPPOSITION REACTION TO THE REPORT WAS PREDICTABLY NEGATIVE. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BUNDESTAG COMMITTEE FOR INNER- GERMAN RELATIONS, CDU DEPUTY REDDEMANN, CALLED THE REPORT A " TERRIFYING DOCUMENTATION OF PROPAGANDISTIC WHITEWASH." INSTEAD OF RAISING UNREALISTIC HOPES BY PRESENTING A PICTURE OF AN " ALMOST PERFECT INNER- GERMAN WORLD", REDDEMANN CALLED ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ISSUE A SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT LISTING THE AREAS, SUCH AS REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES WHERE THE GDR WAS NOT LIVING UP TO COMMITMENTS MADE UNDER VARIOUS AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED WITH THE FRG SINCE 1970.

7. THE MAJORITY OF EDITORIAL COMMENT PRESENTED SIMILAR VIEWS, IF IN A LESS POLEMIC TONE. THE KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU SAID THE REPORT PRESENTED ONLY HALF OF THE STATE OF THE NATION, SINCE IT OMITTED ANY ANALYSIS

OF THE SITUATION AS HAD BEEN PRESENTED IN THE BACK-
GROUND MATERIAL WHICH ACCOMPANIED PREVIOUS REPORTS.
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THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE NOTED THAT THE REPORT OF
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TRIED TO PRETEND THAT EVERYTHING
WAS GOING FORWARD SATISFACTORILY, BUT " THIS DOES NOT
CORRESPOND WITH THE DAILY OBSERVATIONS OF EVERY
CITIZEN IN THIS DIVIDED COUNTRY." ALTHOUGH TRYING TO BE
MORE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS BEING ENCOUNTERED BY
THE GOVERNMENT IN IMPLEMENTING THE TREATIES SIGNED WITH
THE GDR, THE SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG ALSO CRITICIZED THE
REPORT FOR OMITTING ANY DISCUSSION OF THE DIFFICULTIES
N/ A

HILLENBRRAND

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SS-15 USIA-12 NIC-01 IO-12 ACDA-19 NEA-10 GAC-01

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 OMB-01 EB-11 RSR-01 SIL-01

LAB-06 COME-00 /159 W

----- 107120

P R 041831 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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WHICH HAVE ARISEN. DIE WELT WAS MORE DIRECT. IT
DISMISSED THE ENTIRE EXERCISE AS " OFFICIAL DISINFORMA-
TION".

8. EMBASSY COMMENT: THE PARTISAN POLITICAL CRITICISM
OF THE REPORT WAS TO BE EXPECTED, BUT THE ALMOST
UNANIMOUS SKEPTICISM EVIDENCED BY EDITORIAL WRITERS
SEEMS TO REFLECT A MORE WIDESPREAD PHENOMENON WHICH
WE HAVE NOTED INCREASINGLY IN RECENT WEEKS. THAT IS,
A GROWING SKEPTICISM IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OVER THE
VALUE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S EASTERN POLICY INsofar AS
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BRINGING ANY REAL CHANGE IN THE FRG'S RELATIONSHIP WITH
THE GDR IS CONCERNED. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT MAY
REALIZE THAT REAL IMPROVEMENTS IN RELATIONS WITH THE
GDR WILL BE OBTAINABLE ONLY OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME
AT BEST, THE GERMAN PUBLIC HAS COME TO EXPECT THAT
MANY OF THE MORE BASIC DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED WITH
THE GDR IN THE PAST WOULD SOON DISAPPEAR. THE GOVERN-
MENT ITSELF IS, OF COURSE, PARTIALLY TO BLAME FOR THIS
SITUATION SINCE, DESPITE OCCASIONAL ATTEMPTS TO GIVE
A MORE BALANCED PICTURE OF THE SITUATION, ITS ARGUMEN-
TATION FOR THE BASIC TREATY HAS INEVITABLY ACCENTUATED
THE POSITIVE RESULTS WHICH COULD BE EXPECTED. THE FACT
THAT, AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE REPORT, PRACTICAL IMPROVE-
MENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE WILL IN COMING MONTHS PROBABLY
BE LESS IMPORTANT TO THE GERMAN PUBLIC AT LARGE THAN
ANY FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS OF GDR UNWILLINGNESS TO LIVE
UP TO EITHER THE LETTER OR THE SPIRIT OF THE COMMITMENTS
WHICH IT HAS UNDERTAKEN.

9. FULL TEXTS OF REPORT HAVE BEEN POUCHED TO THE
DEPARTMENT AND BERLIN.
HILLENBRAND

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts:
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN04968
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: n/a
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730432/aaaahlzl.tel
Line Count: 330
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 01 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by reddocgw>; APPROVED <29-Aug-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971119
Subject: GOVERNMENT REPORT ON STATE OF INNER- GERMAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, GE, GW
To: BERLIN
BREMEN
DUSSELDORF
EUR
LONDON
MOSCOW
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Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005